

Message Text

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S E C R E T GENEVA 5394

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON MEETING, JULY 1, 1977 (SALT TWO-1257)

1. AT PLENARY MEETING, JULY 1, SEMENOV MADE STATEMENT ON CON-
VERSION OF NON-ICBM LAUNCHERS TO ICBM LAUNCHERS AND ADDRESSING
US CONCERNS OVER DUAL-CAPABLE LAUNCHERS. HE TABLED NEW FORMULATION
FOR PARA 8 OF ARTICLE IV WHICH READS: "THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT
TO CONVERT LAND-BASED LAUNCHERS OF BALLISTIC MISSILES, WHICH ARE NOT
ICBMS, INTO LAUNCHERS FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS, AND NOT TO TEST THEM
FOR THIS PURPOSE." HE THEN PROPOSED SIDES UNDERTAKE OBLIGATION NOT
TO DEVELOP, TEST OR DEPLOY LAUNCHERS FOR LAUNCHING BOTH ICBMS AND
NON-ICBMS.

2. I MADE STATEMENT REPEATING US PROPOSAL TO RECORD NUMERICAL UPPER
LIMITS FOR LAUNCH-WEIGHT AND THROW-WEIGHT OF LIGHT AND HEAVY ICBMS.
I CITED, AS PRECEDENT, 5,500 KM THRESHOLD FOR ICBM RANGE IN JDT
AND NUMERICAL VALUE OF ABM RADAR POTENTIAL IN ABM TREATY. I
GAVE EXAMPLES OF PROBLEMS THAT COULD RESULT FROM UNCERTAINTIES
IF VALUES NOT EXPLICITLY RECORDED.

3. IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION SEMENOV MADE BRIEF STATEMENT
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SUPPORTING NEW SOVIET PROPOSALS AND THEN TURNED TO DISCUSSION OF
DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT. I REBUTTED EARLIER SOVIET STATEMENTS
TO EFFECT THAT TELEMETRY IS "INTERNAL" ACTIVITY AND NOT SUBJECT
TO OBLIGATIONS OF ARTICLE XVI, ARGUING THAT ALL ACTIVITIES ARE
"INTERNAL" UNTIL THE SIDES ENTER INTO AN AGREEMENT, AT WHICH
TIME, RELEVANT ACTIVITIES ARE NO LONGER OF PURELY INTERNAL
INTEREST. HE AGREED GENERALLY BUT REPEATED OLD ARGUMENTS

RELATIVE TO TELEMETRY. RE US "BEST EFFORTS" PROPOSAL I ASKED WHETHER HIS EARLIER DISCRPTION AS "SUPERFLUOUS" SIGNIFIED THAT THIS OBLIGATION WAS ALREADY IMPLIED AND HE REPLIED THAT HIS UNDERSTANDING WAS SIMILAR. HE THEN INDICATED THAT SOVIETS COULD CONSIDER DELETING WORD "SPECIAL" IN THEIR PROPOSAL IN EXCHANGE FOR US DROPPING "BEST EFFORTS" SENTENCE. HE ALSO SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH SOVIETS VIEW THEIR PROPOSAL RELATIVE TO "CURRENT TESTING PRACTICES" TO BE COMPLETE, SOVIETS WOULD BE INTERESTED IN HEARING ANY THOUGHTS THE US HAS ON HOW TO MAKE THE TERM "CURRENT" MORE PRECISE.

4. IN JOHNSON/SHCHUKIN BILATERAL, SHCHUKIN STATED THAT PURPOSE OF AGREEMENT IS TO ENSURE STRATEGIC BALANCE AND, THEREFORE, "NUMERICAL UPPER LIMITS" ON LAUNCH WEIGHT AND THROW-WEIGHT NOT NEEDED SINCE UNCERTAINTIES IN VALUES DETERMINED BY US NTM COULD NOT AFFECT STRATEGIC BALANCE.

5. IN ROWNY/TRUSOV-BELETSKY BILATERAL, TRUSOV STATED THAT US AND SOVIET POSITIONS ARE CLOSE RELATIVE TO DEFINITION OF MIRVED MISSILES AND ASSOCIATION OF SUCH MISSILES WITH A PARTICULAR LAUNCHER WHILE INDICATING THAT SOVIETS DO NOT RECOGNIZE THE CONCEPT OF "ASSOCIATION" NOR IN ASSOCIATING A PARTICULAR LAUNCHER WITH OTHER LAUNCHERS OF THE SAME TYPE.

6. IN BILATERAL WITH FREW AND MCNEILL, KARPOV AND SMOLIN PRESENTED NON-PAPER ON JDT MIRV CONVERSION TEXT. IT CONTAINED NEW LANGUAGE FOR PARA 3(A) AND PARA 7 OF ARTICLE VI WHICH REFLECTED GENERAL
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APPROACH SUGGESTED BY US IN EARLIER CONVERSATIONS.

7. IN BILATERAL WITH WRIGHT AND ELDRIDGE, BEKOTOV INDICATED EXTERNAL APPEARANCES NOT IMPORTANT IN DETERMINING LAUNCHER TYPE. SUBSEQUENTLY, HE DREW SKETCH OF SOVIET SSBNS (IN EFFECT, DELTA II AND DELTA III) SHOWING HIGHER MISSILE BAY ON LATTER. WITH RESPECT TO NUMERICAL UPPER LIMITS ON LAUNCH WEIGHT AND THROW-WEIGHT, BEKOTOV SAID THESE NUMBERS ARE NOT IMPORTANT; 2400 AND 1320, AND SUBSEQUENTLY REDUCTIONS, ARE THE IMPORTANT NUMBERS.

8. NEXT PLENARY SESSION WEDNESDAY, JULY 6.EARLE

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